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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

HYMN TO DEMOCRACY.

I dreamed I saw a wonder-ship, a ship of gold, a
ship of flame,
And all the waters and the sky blazed ruddy as it
came.
Its sails were made of living fire
Fanned by the breath of God's desire
And lifted human faces yearned
To where the glory burned.
O ship of light, O ship of gold,
O ship of human brotherhood,
What wealth of treasure in thy hold,
And knowledge of the people's good!

I dreamed I saw a wonder-ship, a ship of fire, a
ship of light
Bound for a far and splendid goal,
A barge of freedom for the soul
Ablaze upon the night.
Crowded from deck to deck was she
With throngs that hungered to be free;
From rail to rail and mast to mast
A million hands were clinging fast
To truth and justice, found at last.

O ship of fire, O ship of hope,
O herald of a better day,
Light up the way for those who grope,
Light up the way, light up the way!
Thy name is freedom from despair,
Thy name is love, thy name is prayer
And all the future thrills to see
Thy mighty destiny.

—*Angela Morgan.*

From "Forward March," John Lane Co., New York.

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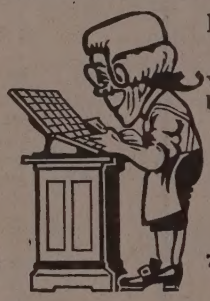

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1919 Number 5

Much madness is divinest sense
To a discerning eye;
Much sense the starkest madness.
'Tis the majority
In this, as all, prevails.
Assent, and you are sane;
Demur,—you're straightway dangerous,
And handled with a chain.

—Emily Dickinson.

A few days ago, I held in my hand a copy of the first edition of Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." The title-page was a thing of exquisite beauty. The printing was large, clear and lovely to the eye. The paper, more than three hundred years old, was perfectly preserved both in texture and color. On the last page of the volume was the handsome coat-of-arms of the publisher. Printing in the sixteenth century was evidently not a business but an art. A printer was as proud of his book as a painter of his canvas, or a knight of his shield. It is rather different today when the best books are often ugly, and most of them doomed to rot to pieces in a few years. Are we progressing so much, after all? J. H. H.

Under the circumstances there was undoubtedly nothing that the government could do but put Eugene V. Debs in prison. He confessed himself guilty of offense under the Espionage Act. But what are we to think of a democracy which creates such circumstances, enacts such laws, that a man like Debs, one of the noblest and most beloved of all Americans, must be thrust behind the bars? "What outrage cloaked in legal technicalities," exclaims Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in his widely-quoted letter to Debs, "what outrage . . . could prove so clearly the bankruptcy of the present social order?" It is not surprising that 'Gene Debs is able to take his ten years' sentence with perfect calm. Quite apart from his own innate heroism and devotion to men, is the sober fact that he has little to worry about. It is we, who are still outside of prison-walls, who have occasion for worry. Why are we free, when such a man as Debs is jailed? Where is our democracy, when such a deed can be done "by due process of law"? J. H. H.

The great strike of the Lawrence (Mass.) textile operatives has reached a dramatic climax in the sudden appearance of Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, upon the scene of strife. For weeks past, more than twenty thousand men and women have been "out," and have been treated with the lawless brutality characteristic of a city owned and controlled by the large employers of labor. Some days ago, Mrs. Evans, described by a newspaper as a "Boston stockholder of a local mill," long known in New England for her philanthropies and generous social spirit, paid a passing visit to Lawrence, to look things over. By chance, she witnessed the "beating-up" of an innocent picket by a brutal policeman. Moved to intense indignation by the episode, she marched to court, paid the offender's fine, and announced her intention to remain in Lawrence and see the fight through. Every morning, at six o'clock, she is out on the picket line, walking with the strikers, and daring the police to interfere. On Sunday, March 23rd, she found herself the leader of a vast parade of strikers, many thousands strong, through the heart of the city. One lone woman, seventy years of age, has rallied a vast army of operatives to new courage, challenged the lawlessness of a servile city government, and captured the attention of the public far and wide throughout the state. How much we can do for right and justice, after all, if we only will! J. H. H.

The time of course has long passed since it was possible to believe that liberty could be trusted to regulate human relations of itself. In the hey-day of individualism, it used to be thought that liberty was the panacea of all social ill. Jefferson laid down this principle when he declared that in politics "the less government the better." The liberal economists of the Manchester school presented the same idea in their well-known doctrine of *laissez faire*. Herbert Spencer took over the thought into his "Data of Ethics," in his analysis of the problem of personal morality. Liberty in itself was enough! Practised without interference, it would lead to a certain automatic adjustment which would result in the long run in harmony and happiness. Such was the theory. But alas, like many another theory, how badly has it worked! Liberty, left alone, is either abused or neglected. It leads to license, or else clears the ground for the strong man. Anarchy is at the one end; the man on horseback, or the industrial monopolist, at the other. Liberty, as Richard Roberts points out, in his little book, "The Red Cap on the Cross," must have a "co-efficient." And it is the tragedy of social history that this "co-efficient" has been sought in a return to that exercise

of arbitrary authority which it was the very achievement of liberty to end. Not able, or not daring, to trust men in freedom, society has again and again abandoned itself to the tyranny from which it had thought forever to escape. Note the experience of America in casting its finest traditions to Prussianism, under the stress and strain of the Great War! The social task of our day is the discovery of fellowship, and not authority, as the "co-efficient" of liberty. Freedom and fellowship, these are the two indispensable and co-operating factors of social order. To teach men to practice utter freedom not in isolation, but in membership one with another, this it is which is necessary to end the peril of power, and to establish securely the institutions of democracy. J. H. H.

Fellowship, of course, means the abrogation of force, and the definite substitution therefor of reason and goodwill. If argument for the efficacy and wisdom of this policy be needed, the present situation in Europe furnishes data in abundance. From the signing of the armistice to the present moment, the Allies have used the single policy of force in dealing with the Central Empires. The blockade has been rigorously applied. The conquered countries have been stripped of armaments, and placed in charge of armies of occupation. Food and raw material were for months refused, and resumption of trade relations is still denied. Communication has been open only through military channels. Armistice has succeeded armistice like the turning of a thumb-screw on the machine of torture. And always at the peace-table has been heard the talk of indemnities, ceded territories, and the deliberate and permanent destruction of Germany as an economic unit. With the result of confusion, revolution, a whole continent on the verge of chaos and despair! Suppose, now, that with the overthrow of the Kaiser's government and the signing of the first armistice, another and very different policy had been followed. Suppose that armies had been thrown into central Europe only to bring food, clothing and general relief. Suppose that raw material had been rushed to Germany's exhausted industries, and trade relations been made as free and open as possible. Suppose that representatives of the new German democracy had been received and heard at the peace-table from the beginning. Suppose that Germany had been invited to be an original member of the proposed League of Nations, and consulted as to its constitution. Suppose, in a word, that reconciliation had been sought instead of punishment, peace instead of power, the practice of love instead of the indulgence of hate. The result could not have been worse than it is at this present moment. Is there not something more than a reasonable possibility that it might have been better?

J. H. H.

Violence

It is a thousand pities that the labor movement in this country should find itself at this critical time beset with the horrid spectre of violence. Evidence of this fact is not to be found in the hectic tales of plots and conspiracies recently submitted to a Senate Committee by a Post Office underling. What is really significant is a certain growing temper of mind which is manifest to any one who has addressed forum audiences, or talked with chance gatherings of workingmen, in recent months. The labor world is undoubtedly coquetting today with the thought of violent action for the accomplishment of reform, as it has never done before, at least within the experience of the present generation. Collective bargaining in industry, party organization in politics, education and agitation, these were the all-sufficient methods of social change commended to and received by the masses of the people in the days before the Great War. A denunciation of violence could always be counted upon to receive long and enthusiastic applause in unionist and socialist gatherings alike. Today, however, there is a change which, if not altogether open, is none the less unmistakable. Direct action is in the air! To take what you want, without delay, by any method, and at any cost, seems to be fast becoming the doctrine of the day!

Reasons for this dangerous transformation of popular sentiment are of course not far to seek. First of all, there is the War—that sinister and terrible example of the use of violence to the end of victory. Then there are the revolutions in Europe, sweeping on from one country to another in a veritable welter of bloodshed and destruction. Nearer at home is that policy of legal and illegal repression, which now, as always in the past, is a direct invitation to reprisal. Social psychology has laws which are as invariable as those which are written in the courses of the stars The minds of men, as well as their bodies, are subject to contagion. We are living in a time when force has received a sanction unknown before even in the fiercest days of barbarism, and it is not surprising, perhaps, that this sanction is being accepted in places unexpected and least desired.

All this explains the phenomenon, as seeds explain a harvest. But let it be noted, with all possible emphasis, that it does not in any sense justify the phenomenon. A scientific explanation is one thing, an ethical justification quite another and different thing! What is to be proclaimed at this time, from the housetops if necessary, by every wise friend of labor, is the truth that there is no lesson of history more certain than that of the utter futility of force, no dictum of idealism more incontrovertible than that of the essential wrongness of force, for all ends of progress

and deliverance. Violence is its own worst enemy. "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Especially in this country is resort to violent or direct action without excuse. It is at least imaginable that under such conditions as prevailed in Naples under the Austrian satrap, or in Russia under the Romanoffs, the use of force might be presented as unescapable, if tyranny were ever to be overthrown. It was no less a leader than Mazzini who counselled violence for the emancipation of Italy; and Wendell Phillips, the associate of the non-resistant Garrison, once declared that if he were a Russian, he would be a Nihilist and use bombs against the enemies of liberty. Such desperate remedies even under such desperate conditions, I for one would repudiate. But even though they be accepted, it certainly cannot be argued that such conditions, calling for such remedies, exist, or ever have existed, here in America. Whatever be our philosophy as to the ethics of force, we must all agree that in this country, no provocation, however cruel, can excuse resort to violence—no ends, however beneficent, justify such resort. Our governmental system may be imperfect or defective in a hundred different ways, but one thing at least is certain—it keeps the pathway to reform wide open to the peaceful processes of education and politics. There is no change so drastic, no resolution so thoroughgoing, that it cannot be accomplished in this country the moment that the people make up their minds to put it through.

If we desire demonstration of this fact, we have only to look at the recent amendments which have been added to our United States Constitution. I can remember a time when I demonstrated in a college debate, to the satisfaction of audience and judges, that popular election of Senators could never be accomplished by constitutional amendment. The Senators, I said, could always block the way by their veto! And yet it was only a few years later that these august "conscript fathers" solemnly gave their sanction to this revolutionary transfer of responsibility and authority. A dozen years ago, nothing seemed more unlikely than the abolition of the stupendous interests of the organized liquor traffic by due process of national legislation. To-day the country has been made "bone dry" with a rapidity and thoroughness which still seems incredible. No social change of our time is more revolutionary than the extension of the franchise to women—so at least our fathers thought in the early days of the reform! But today it needs but the winning of a single vote in the next Senate to clinch the victory!

A still better illustration of the political possibilities in this American democracy of ours, is found in the case of the State of North Dakota. Here is an integral and independent division of our national commonwealth which has been captured by a political party organized for the specific business of changing the government along the most drastic lines of social reform. When the Non-Partisan League was started, the farmers had everything against them. The legislature, the governor, the courts, were owned body and soul by the capitalistic business interests. The newspapers, similarly owned, were closed to the movement. Rights of speech and assembly were denied with a wantonness almost unexampled in American history. Under the influence of the war-mania of the last two years, the League was outlawed as pro-German, its leaders arrested and confined on charges of sedition, its literature destroyed and denied the mails. But it was as impossible to stop the movement as to stop the rising of the tide. With a deliberation and determination beyond all praise, the League set itself to the simple task of educating and organizing public opinion in North Dakota for the accomplishment of fundamental social change. Defeat, slander, oppression, were not allowed for one moment to divert the movement from its appointed task. There were electoral offices to be gained, courts to be captured and transformed, a constitution to be amended and rewritten. Year after year went by, with a step gained here, another there. And now, behold, the victory is won! North Dakota belongs at this moment to the Non-Partisan League, and the long promised revolution is under way.

This, now, is what I mean when I say that in this country there is nothing that cannot be accomplished once the people really make up their minds to accomplish it. What has been done in North Dakota can be done in Pennsylvania, in Illinois, in New York; and, by the same token, in the nation at large. If there is anything, small or great, that cannot be achieved today, it is because the people do not understand it, and therefore need education; or because they do not know how to get it, and therefore need organization. If labor wants to own this country, to put through a sweeping program of industrial change, to dispossess the capitalists and overthrow the capitalist system, labor can do it just as soon as it educates and organizes fifty-one per cent of the population to this end. If Congress stands in the way, labor representatives can be placed in the Capitol. If the President vetoes the proposal, a Labor executive can be nominated, elected and inaugurated. If the courts block the issue, they can be captured as they were captured in North Dakota. If the Constitution forbids, the Constitution can be changed. Such procedure, of course, requires patience, self-control, courage—but when did these cease to be virtues? This method of advance postpones deliverance—but how can deliverance be used before it is desired or understood? It is slow, oftentimes agonizingly slow—but it is sure! In any case, with the road thus open, violence becomes at once

anathema. Any appeal to force in America constitutes its own condemnation, and the equal condemnation of the social program on behalf of which it is commended.

If violence is to be used, let it be by those officers of law and order who seek by repression to secure their power. Such methods of legal violence are the perfect means of educating and organizing opposition. Things are going well when it is the conservative and not the radical who resorts to force.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.
Church of the Messiah, New York City.

In the Great Cause of Man

(In the Marne Salient)

He lay upon his cot and slowly breathed his last.
With valor fiery-hot while others stood aghast
He dared the hurtling shot and stayed the murderous blast.
He lay upon his cot and slowly breathed his last.

His frame was lithe and rare to lie thus pale and low;
Life never seemed so fair as now when he must go.
But Death had stripped him bare, Fate struck its heaviest blow.
His frame was lithe and rare to lie thus pale and low.

They listened, as he died, to what the hero said.
The bandages were tied about his shattered head;
The nurses at his side had staunched the streams of red.
They listened, as he died, to what the hero said.

"This is earth's brightest year since years their course began:
The world was bowed in fear, and love was under ban;
But poet, prophet, seer, said man should live for man.
This is earth's brightest year since years their course began.

"Faith toiled that Love might win, but Force usurped its place;
Might flashed its sword of sin in every human face
And strove with lustful din to dominate the race.
Faith toiled that Love might win, but Force usurped its place.

"If man for man must bear, must man for man not die?
My years have breathed the air where Freedom is the cry—
America the fair, on whom earth's hopes rely!
If man for man must bear, must man for man not die?

"With eager zeal I sought to do my valiant part.
No thirst for conflict caught and flamed me with its dart—
It was for Peace I wrought, with hand and mind and heart.
With eager zeal I sought to do my valiant part.

"Has life so teemed with joy that I should wish it long?
The tasks of my employ—were they so full of song?
Oh, well for girl and boy when right has banished wrong!
Has life so teemed with joy that I should wish it long?

"Through thirty years I trod the common dusty way
And saw men ceaseless plod, or fritter life in play—
No sight, no dream, no God, no hope for better day.
Through thirty years I trod the common dusty way.

"But now the men have cheered, and magnified my name!
An arch of flowers they reared, and jollied me with 'fame.'
Had I from danger veered, scorn well might burn like flame;
But now the men have cheered, and magnified my name!

"They tell me I have done a deed in Freedom's cause;
A victory was won when fortune seemed to pause—
And sooner shines the sun of juster human laws!
They tell me I have done a deed in Freedom's cause.

"For this in death I lie—that good for Man be gained!
Then lift earth's banner high, nor let it more be stained
By Mammon's selfish dye—else naught have I attained.
For this in death I lie—that good for Man be gained!"

JAMES HARCOURT WEST.

The Denominational Church; Can It Continue?

John Haynes Holmes said some mighty significant things to his congregation some Sundays ago in telling his people on what terms he had been induced to decline the very cordial call he had received to Chicago and to remain for the rest of his days in New York City. For that is practically what his declaration of principles on that memorable Sunday morning amounted to: a statement of the kind of Church he would be interested in continuing to serve as its leader, and a challenge to his people to see and follow his vision. Curiously enough the thing that was most widely reported in the metropolitan press and the most generally discussed among the people was not, as might have been expected, his clear and uncompromising statement of the political and industrial obligations of the Church to this generation; but his demand for a "community church," a church which should divorce itself forever from the petty denominational alliances and undertake to be the servant of the entire community without regard to distinctions of creed, race or color. As Holmes himself said in announcing his intention to withdraw from the Unitarian fellowship: "In ceasing to be a Unitarian I become a Christian!"

Can this mean that the people are actually more interested in the question of "Church unity," in the movement to free the Church from the age-long curse of denominational rivalries with all their silly and unchristian emphasis of the non-essentials of religion? more interested in this than in the matter of the Church's "social message"? It would seem so. Holmes' announcement and the storm of discussion it raised in and around New York is but one of the signs of the times. The people are sick and tired of the denominations. They begin to see that the Christian Church cannot proclaim any gospel, social or other, with good grace until it can present something like a united front. Lately the writer was asked by the editors of *The New Republic* to prepare a resume of the "social program" of the Church. I set to work on the task with a light heart. But I soon discovered that the task was not so easy as I had anticipated. In no one place, not even at the headquarters of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, could I find any such resume nor any complete file of the programs I was seeking. I must go to the various "denominational headquarters" scattered over the city. This I did and after hours of searching I had collected together a part of the desired data. It may have been my own imagination, but I thought I could sense as I visited the several headquarters a feeling on the part of the social secretaries that the program of their denomination was a little better, a little more radical than any other; and in one instance I found a secretary who told with perhaps pardonable pride that *his* denomination had years ago adopted a social program which had really been copied almost verbatim by all the other pronouncements. Now if the question of denominational superiority or priority can enter into so vital and urgent a matter as this of organized, Christian justice, can anyone wonder that the public, who are interested only in results and not at all in the Tweedledees and Tweedledums of denominational distinc-

tions, are getting impatient with the whole denominational business?

The Great War has killed something besides human beings. It has killed, or is in a fair way to killing, some ancient institutions as well. Among these institutions is the denominational church. Everybody knows that the chaplains and Y. M. C. A. workers who failed were those who sought to grind some kind of denominational axe, to make the boys "come to Christ" in some carefully specified way. It wouldn't work, not out there where men were thinking straight and deep into the heart of things, and in thousands of instances asking themselves the fundamental question whether the living Christ approved of this bloody business at all.

And now after the war what do we see? We see men returning from chaplaincies who a few months ago were ardent denominationalists eagerly and publicly disavowing their former denominational arguments and interests and stressing the really vital things of the spirit. And in the towns that were built up during the war and which are likely to continue in civil industries what is happening? Nitro, West Virginia, is the answer. There they have formed what they call a "Liberty Church," a church to which any God-fearing or God-loving man may go and join without any reference whatever to his denominational predilections; or if he prefer it so, he can write his name down as a member of the Liberty Church from such and such a denomination. And fifty-five other centers have looked over their ground and are planning to establish similar community churches in their midst. The denominations which were buzzing about trying to get on the ground first with their particular brand of honeyed salvation have been quietly told to depart with their nostrums to other fields.

The Liberty Church, no doubt, has its faults and weak places. But it will learn by experience, let us hope. In any case it may be taken as a sign of the time,—the time when our present denominational distinctions will be looked back upon as monumental denials of the spirit of the great founder of the Christian Church itself.

F. C. Doan.

THE GREAT REFUSAL

Not only once, when to His feet there came
A youth with many gifts of life and grace
One whom He loved and in whose eyes could trace
The light of those who serve His sacred name;
A youth who felt the wonder of that claim
And heard the words that time may not erase,
Yet could not give his all, and turned his face
And went away in sorrow and in shame:

Not only then—but evermore that Voice
Calls through all beauty and with words of awe
Pledges the gifts enduring and divine;
Yet Youth still wavers at the highest choice
And turns away, as he who came and saw
The Hands that changed the water into wine.

The Churchman, N. Y. —*Thomas S. Jones, Jr.*

"An Eye-Witness from Russia"

IV.

From the Manchester Guardian January 24, 1919.

A comparison between the Red Army and the Czecho-Slovak forces should reveal factors which may go a long way towards explaining some of the sharp contrasts in the two movements in Russia that stand at the back of these bodies.

Among the motives which induced men to join the Red Army of the Bolsheviks these may be noted. There was a feeling in the minds of many people that the ideals which the Revolution stood for were in some danger of being obscured. They felt impulsively that if considerable numbers joined the Army of the Revolution a greater security would result, and thus the delicate task of embodying the national desire and the national consciousness in a suitable instrument of government would be facilitated. They set about forming this army with the forgetfulness of self so characteristic of the Russian, and often considered that good intentions might be a substitute for the colder task of political and military organization. While this desire for security influenced many men in the earlier days of the Bolshevik movement, the hard conditions of life in Russia and increasing poverty led many family men with dependents to seek employment in the Red Guard, because the wages were good and the conditions as to food and clothing were excellent. For the latter reasons many joined towards the end of the winter of 1917-18 who saw no other alternative but starvation. This probably was the reason why many Austro-German prisoners of war found themselves in the ranks of the Red Army. But another motive in this case must also be considered. The Bolshevik programme stood for internationalism, and while few prisoners of war that I spoke to were able to explain exactly what this meant, yet a very strong impression was gathered that in the minds of these men internationalism meant some kind of international brotherhood.

The source from which the Czecho-Slovak forces were drawn was almost entirely the body of deserters from the Austro-German armies. Very few comparatively were of other nationality than Czecho-Slovak, or from any other source. While the source of recruits for the Czecho-Slovaks was of one nationality, the sources of the Bolshevik armies were more numerous. While the motives for joining the Red Army were in nearly all cases complex, those which caused allegiance to the Czecho-Slovaks were simple, and among them we may name intense anti-German feeling, promises (and pay) from the French, and—of less weight—an element of adventure which at any time and at any place may cause young men in a foreign country, without dependents, to approximate to the position of being soldiers of fortune.

Discipline and Fighting Ability

The Bolshevik recruits were familiar with the village form of government. It was therefore natural that they should introduce into their army the same type of administration and discipline which obtains in the mir, or village council. In our sense of the word, discipline was lax, but the spirit of brotherhood was strong, and the men were accustomed to acting upon the compelling force, not of orders from a superior officer, but of the will of the meeting. The nature of

the Czecho-Slovak discipline is determined by its origin—severe German army training, officered by men who had learned their method in Germany and received encouragement under the old regime of the Tsar.

The type of fighting natural to each follows from the character of the discipline on the two sides. The Bolsheviks were good at guerilla warfare. The excitement and comradeship of fighting in small machine-gun squads and in daring exploits on the part of small platoons seriously limited the character of the campaigns of which they were capable. Their General Staff work and their artillery were praised by all observers, and in these branches of the service they received much assistance from the anti-German pro-internationalist prisoners of war who adhered to their cause. The Czecho-Slovaks were good at fighting in open formation, at timed attacks, and at methods of warfare which might involve co-operation among widely extended units. Relatively to the Bolsheviks, I think it is correct to say that their staff work and their artillery were poor, but their weakness in theory was made good by the excellence of their practice.

The contrast between the two forces reveals itself in the spirit in which their campaigns were conducted. The Bolshevik recruits were largely boys to whom fighting for the Revolution was a kind of romance. They felt that they were protecting the liberties and the unity of Russia. There was a strong romantic attachment to their cause, and though conscious of many backslidings, they were also conscious of a power which lay within themselves to lead them on with courage and devotion to great service for their country and humanity.

Czecho-Slovak Bitterness

The Czecho-Slovaks also were fired with the idea of fighting for the liberation of their country from an oppressor, and they were banded together for this end. They came naturally or were led to see this oppressor stretch out his hand into a distant country and thwart them in their task of national liberation by the method of turning the Bolsheviks against them. What justification they had for holding this idea was discussed in the previous article, but it may be repeated here that what ideas did not come to them through their own observations were pressed upon them by the Allies. Thinking as they did that the underhand methods of Germany were working in the Bolshevik community, they vented their hatred of the oppressor on his supposed ally. Seeing no hope for Europe or for humanity unless the German power was completely crushed, it was but a step for them to come to the position that there was no hope for humanity unless Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks were annihilated.

Their sense of duty to this new undertaking induced a bitterness of spirit towards the new enemy which characterized not only the details of their military operations, instanced by executing all the prisoners they took, but also their relation to the civil Government of Russia. It may here be mentioned that in assisting in the establishment of a new Government they showed their antagonism to the old by permitting a regime which differed so far from the Bolsheviks' as closely to resemble the Imperial administration of Germany.

John Rickman.

CORRESPONDENCE

The League of Nations as a Beginning

Many of the men who sailed across the seas to give all they had on the fields of France did so with the highest and noblest of motives. They loathed and detested war but it seemed to them the only way to end war and to establish peace in the world "forever and a day." They did not want to kill. They realized full well the agony that they would bring to the mothers and wives of their foes. But they went with the pledge of this nation in their heart of hearts that the peace they were to secure would be an enduring peace, a peace guaranteed by a League of Nations. Captain Chamberlain, who spoke at the St. Louis Congress of the League of Nations, said that he had made it his business to ask men in the trenches, hospitals and on the high seas, men who were returning wounded and men who were dying, what they fought for. The unanimous reply was "to end all war and to make possible the establishment of a League of Nations to preserve the peace of the world."

The proposed constitution of a League of Nations may not be perfect but it is a beginning. It will delay at least the coming of another Armageddon. In the meantime we may have a period of peace in which the people of the world may work out a more complete federation that will give a more democratic basis for the organization of the world. It is the concentration of the mind of the peoples on war and preparation for war that prevents the concentration of their minds on the preparation for peace. If the League of Nations postpones possible war for six months or a year it gives mankind just that much more time for the development of the machinery of peace.

This is not the time to debate the shortcomings of the proposed world constitution. Now is the time to get what we can get. A wise Russian said at the time of the organization of the first Duma, "Let us cling to the Duma. Let them take from it one after another of its prerogatives, but let us cling to the Duma. If we get that, we can be sure that we can add, slowly perhaps, but surely, to its powers." Let us get a constitution of nations. When once the start is made then is the time to ask for amendments. We can count on the influence of those men who fought to end all war to be with those who will seek to strengthen the bonds of peace.

Arthur L. Weatherly.

Some More Bits of Early Unity History

To the Editors of Unity:

Will you permit me to express my great pleasure and satisfaction at the new arrangements made for Unity. Surely Mr. Holmes is exactly the man to succeed Mr. Jones as Editor. Mr. Neilson I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but judging from his writings he would seem to be a most fitting associate. And I am sure all Unity readers will be glad that she who has long been the efficient Assistant Editor is to remain at her post.

The interesting letters of Dr. Gannett and Mr. Gillette, in your issue of March 6, reminiscent of the birth and early history of Unity, prompt me to add a few rather important items which appear to have been missed by the historians hitherto.

From January 1st, 1876, to October 1st, 1878, it was my fortune to be pastor of the Fourth Unitarian Church in Chicago, a society which had been organized by Mr. Wendte, and which finally was succeeded by Mr. Jones' All Souls Church. Very soon after the beginning of my Chicago work I came to realize the need of a Unitarian paper in the West and at Chicago. By the end of my first year, after talking the matter up in my church and among friends outside, especially with Rev. Robert Collyer, I became convinced that something ought to be and could be done. Corresponding with Rev. George W. Cooke, who for a time had published an excellent little monthly at Sharon, Wis., he wrote me encouragingly and offered his assistance if I could see my way to start a paper in Chicago.

My plans developed slowly but steadily, and early in the winter of 1877-8 the way seemed clear to make a beginning. I arranged definitely with Mr. Cooke for editorial assistance; Mr. Collyer, with the support which seemed available from his large church, was to be my principal financial reliance.

By this time it seems that Mr. Jones, then pastor at Janesville (but often coming to Chicago in connection with his duties as missionary secretary of the Western Conference), Mr. Gannett, who was then at St. Paul, and two or three others, had also begun dreaming a dream similar to my own, though no revelation of it had reached me. My first knowledge of it came at a chance meeting with Mr. Jones in a Chicago printing office, as nearly as I can remember about December, 1877. I had gone to Mr. Sinclair, my printer, to get definite and final figures as to the cost of printing, and to arrange for the issue of the first number of my modest monthly whose subscription price was to be a dollar a year. Before I had finished by business to my surprise Mr. Jones came in, and it soon developed that he also had come to get estimates for a Unitarian periodical. Of course we told each other our plans, and after a long walk and talk together it was agreed that the right and only thing to do was to unite our forces. After further conferences between us, and consultations of Mr. Jones with Mr. Gannett, the final result was the *Pamphlet Mission,* and, later, UNITY.

In the ultimate arrangement it was agreed that the financial responsibility should be placed, not upon Mr. Collyer (or Mr. Collyer and myself), but upon a Publishing Committee representing other cities besides Chicago, the committee to consist of Mr. Collyer, Mr. Gannett of St. Paul, Mr. Jones of Janesville, Mr. Wendte of Cincinnati and Mr. Learned of St. Louis.

As I have said, my plan had been to publish a monthly paper. The new plan agreed upon was for a semi-monthly, somewhat smaller and not exactly a paper, but a sort of half pamphlet and half paper, consisting of a sermon and a few pages of Notes and News. Of these I became the editor, receiving valuable assistance from Mr. Cooke, and the responsibility for the make-up of each number was of course placed in my hands. At the end of six months the name was changed from the bungling and unattractive *Pamphlet Mission,* which I had never liked, to the fine title, UNITY. My editorial connection with the periodical continued only a year, my removal from Chicago to Ann Arbor making it necessary, to my great regret, to resign the work to other hands.

A word now as to the origin of the name UNITY. Mr. Jones was right when he said in his editorial on UNITY's tenth birthday: "It soon became apparent that the *Pamphlet Mission* must outgrow its name. What to call it was the absorbing question for six months. Names were dropped into hats, balloted for, corresponded upon, discussed," etc. Soon the name UNITY appeared among the many others. The Wisconsin "woodpile" (or lumber-pile) story of its origin may be true; though the fact that Mr. Gannett, one of the parties involved, says he remembers nothing of the kind, gives it a rather mythical look. All I remember distinctly is that while Jones, Gannett, Simmons and several others (including myself) liked the name Unity (it was my own decided choice from the first), some did not like it, and there was delay in deciding to adopt it. However, at last, after considerable discussion it was fixed upon with pretty general unanimity. And once having been chosen I think no one ever desired to change it.

I think it will be generally conceded that the history of the origin of UNITY's name, but especially of the paper itself, can hardly be regarded as complete without a consideration of the above facts.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

New York, March 12, 1919.

Dear UNITY:

I am somewhat amused at the discussion in your columns concerning the founding of your journal and the origin of its name. The variance of opinion on this subject shows that the human memory is not always dependable. Will you permit me, as one of the "founders," to give my recollection of the questions involved. The suggestion of the *Pamphlet Mission,* the forerunner of UNITY, came from William C. Gannett, who worked out all the details in his usual thorough manner. Jenkin Lloyd Jones and I collaborated. The others named on the committee rendered little service. J. T. Sunderland and George W. Cooke were appointed editors, and we all contributed to the enterprise in various ways. When it became apparent that a more impressive periodical, and one appearing more frequently, was needed the plan was again worked out by Gannett, aided by Jones, and with a few of us making suggestions. The question of a name became vital. In the summer of 1878 Jones and myself, and, I am quite sure, Gannett, though I will not insist on the latter point, met at my boarding-place—Mrs. Sarah Barker's (of Meadville memory)—in Boston to perfect the arrangements for the new paper. Each of us had brought suggestions, especially as regarded a name for the projected journal. Together we elaborated the scheme. The name gave us the most trouble. Finally Jones, with happy inspiration, cried: "Let's call it Unity, and nothing more." I was so delighted with the suggestion that I arose, seized Jones around the waist and began an impromptu dance with him around the room, amid general laughter. And so UNITY was born of a happy thought, like Pallas Athene from the occiput of Jove.

Reminiscently yours,

CHARLES W. WENDTE.

Newton, Mass., March 18, 1919.

THE STUDY TABLE

Some New Books

PSYCHICAL PHENOMENA AND THE WAR. Hereward Carrington. New York: 1918. Dodd, Mead & Co. 16mo, pp. ix. 363. Price, $2 net.

That the war, with its fearful destruction of life, should quicken and stimulate an interest in spiritualism was to be expected. Bereaved parents, relatives, and friends are naturally longing for contact and communication with those who are gone. The literature of spiritualism has already been notably enlarged and such books as Sir Oliver Lodge's *Raymond* may be anticipated in considerable numbers. It is also natural, in a time of such stress and excitement, when nerves are overwrought and brains are anxiously uncertain, that our boys in the field should see visions and hear sounds. It is the fit moment for apparitions. With millions passing through extraordinary experiences, it is natural that many should subject themselves to analysis and give out confessions and studies of their inmost being. In the book before us, Mr. Carrington has brought together an interesting mass of data along all these lines.

The book divides the material into Normal and Supernormal. Under Normal Phenomena studies are made of German methods of warfare and The Psychology of the Soldier. The material presented upon the "psychology of frightfulness" is most interesting, but it is hardly fair to brand it specifically German; it is probably less ethnic than environmental; it is probable that the phenomena are those of an angered fighting mass in possession of the enemy's territory—that English troops or French troops if the battlefield had been in Germany would have shown the same psychology. The thing is no less dreadful, the study no less instructive, from this probability. "The Psychology of the Soldier" is considered (1) while preparing for and awaiting the battle, (2) during the attack. The greatest interest and value of the book is found in this part, dealing with normal phenomena. Under the heading of Supernormal Phenomena a wide range of topics is presented, including prophecies and premonitions, apparitions, dreams, clairvoyance, spirit communications, etc. The author believes the evidence conclusive that "our dead soldiers yet live." We see little in his presentation that will shake the skeptic, nothing that will convince him. Considering the vast number of those who have been killed and the enormous opportunity for observation, the results are meager. It seems strange that it is necessary to re-quote (to the extent of eight pages) Andrew Jackson Davis' description of the exit of the spiritual from the physical body, when the thing has been "going on in countless thousands of cases over the battlefields of Europe." Why have we no good accounts from such ample recent material? And is it necessary to still quote Robert Dale Owen (to the extent of six pages) to prove the reality of apparitions? There is no doubt that the war is leading to a spiritual revival. But the movement was well under way before the war began. We shall have a burst of religiosity, with deeply spiritual phases, for years to come; it had its beginning in the eighties of the last century. But all this does not prove the reality of spirits, or ghosts, or apparitions of angelic hosts. Nor do we find in Carrington's book any demonstration. But what he has gathered together with much industry, and presented with skill, in most interesting fashion, is highly useful material and students will welcome it. One need not be either religious nor a spiritualist to appreciate the value of such a presentation of psychical phenomena of the war.

TOHOKU: THE SCOTLAND OF JAPAN. Christopher Noss. Philadelphia: 1918. Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in the United States. 16mo. pp. 304. Price, 40 cts.

Because we had travelled through the Tohoku, we were advised to read Noss' book. We have done so with care. The title is false and misleading and we were disappointed in it as a book descriptive of "the Scotland of Japan." Yet it is an exceptionally excellent book of its kind. If it appeared under some such title as *Tohoku, our Mission Field* or *Tohoku, Stronghold of the Reformed Church,* it would make an equally strong appeal to those who want it and would not mislead many who want something quite different. Less than a third of the book deals with Tohoku (or Japan) in general; more than two-thirds is devoted to mission work in northern Japan—and particularly the very aggressive and successful work of the Reformed Church (of the United States). This work centers around Sendai, the metropolis of the north, and has its most striking phase in the two excellent schools, one for boys and one for girls, there conducted. The newspapers of this month have reported a disastrous fire at Sendai, with the destruction of the buildings of North Japan College; it is to be hoped that the work of the school has not been seriously or permanently crippled. As a detailed study of the organization and work of this mission the book can hardly be surpassed. In fact it is a model in the completeness, arrangement and presentation of its material.

FROM DREAM TO REALITY: A RECORD OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACKMER'S GIRLS' HOME. Catherine M. Osborn. Boston: 1918. Woman's National Missionary Association (Universalist). 16mo. pp. ix. 192.

The girls' home conducted by Universalists in Tokyo, Japan, began in 1896 with three girls. During its entire history it has been chiefly under the direction of Miss Osborn, who here tells its story. It is named for Lucian Blackmer, a man who was far from wealthy but generous beyond his means, who was constantly interested in it from the beginning up to the time of his death in 1910. The home has grown until it now shelters more than a score of girls, all preparing for some life of usefulness. The story is simply told, largely in extracts from the author's personal diary. It presents the little daily events, the happenings, perplexities, trials, hopes, pleasures. The stories of individual girls, as they came, tarried, and went out is traced. The home has had a real importance and is highly appreciated.

FREDERICK STARR.

THE POET.

He reaps the world, as men reap fields of wheat;
Sorrow and pain and joy to him belong;
He gathers much of bitter and of sweet,
And lo his golden sheaf—is but a song.

—*Laura Blackburn.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NEWS FROM THE FIELD.

The Free Religious Association of America, G. G. Mills, Secretary, is at present conducting a most successful series of Sunday evening forum meetings in Boston. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Dr. Norman Thomas, Prof. Harry Ward, Mr. Edwin Markham, are some of the speakers who have been heard. The visit of Mr. Mills to Chicago, in April, promises a real extension of the Association's work to the Middle West.

At the Church of the Messiah, in New York, Rev. John Haynes Holmes is preaching a series of ten sermons on "The Community Church, or The New Religion and the New Democracy." This series was begun on March 9, and will continue through May 11. The special topics discussed by Mr. Holmes are (1) "The Collapse of the Churches," (2) "The Blight and Scandal of Denominationalism," (3) "Democracy, the Religion of the People," (4) "The New Basis of Religion," (5) "Sacred and Secular, a Destruction to be Abolished," (6) "Church and State, a Separation to be Ended," (7) "The Individual and the Community, a Union to be Joined," (8) "The Community Church, Its Principles and Organization," (9) "The Community Church, Its Message and Work," (10) "The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant." Congregations crowding the church to capacity each Sunday attest the wide-spread interest in the discussion of this subject.

The Church of the Messiah is at present engaged in extensive and radical work of reorganization along the lines of community as contrasted with denominational development. The free pew system has been adopted; a new statement of purpose and covenant of membership have been written; and the problem of a change of name is under earnest consideration. At a meeting of the society on April 2nd, to be reported later in this column, it was expected that important action on these matters would be taken.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE, CHICAGO.

Miss Mary McDowell gave a stirring address in All Souls Church last Sunday morning on "Reconstruction Work in France and England." During her recent visit to these countries she came into close contact with the people. She told of the heroism of the women munition makers, many of whom worked in cement cells because of the danger from the explosives which they were compelled to handle. They were isolated in order that one life might be sacrificed instead of many should an explosion occur. At one point in France she witnessed the decorating of sixty-six graves by their fellow workers of women who had in this way made the supreme sacrifice. Full statistics of the loss of the lives of women in munition work have not as yet been compiled.

Through the kindness of Miss McDowell we are enabled to give UNITY readers a petition to President Wilson from the French section of the International Committee for Permanent Peace, and a reply to the Appeal of the German women for their hunger menaced country. However it may be with governments and diplomats the universal cry from the people of every country is for the abolition of war. The people of all the warring nations have suffered untold agonies and are looking forward to the birth of a new world where peace and love will reign.

E. LL. J.

Address to President Wilson by a French section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, composed of organizations of women's conservative and radical labor unions, socialist women of different views, university and suffrage women.

We, the women of all classes, of divers political, religious and philosophical convictions, join in a common thought of gratitude to greet, as the representative of humanity, President Wilson, first citizen of the people who have united and reconciled in themselves all nations, all races of Europe, still a prey to murder and hatred.

We thank him, first of all, for not having rejected the advances of the adversary, for having negotiated the Armistice, for having broken the war and put a stop to the slaughter.

We thank him for having understood the sincerity of all peoples, all in good faith sacrificing themselves to their country, even when criminal, all capable of the same awakening of the spirit of justice, all worthy of a like pity for their sufferings, of a like reverence for their rights.

We thank him for having alone formulated in exact words the program of an equitable Peace for all peoples.

We thank him for having, he alone, reminded the governments of their supreme duty, identical for all, that of realizing at last the unanimous wish of these "silent human masses," to whom he alluded in one of his messages, the wish of a lasting peace. We confide our cause to him.

Sure of uttering the innermost thought of all women who have suffered in silence, we come to him and declare:

That the intoxication of victory does not make us forget the hideous butchery and cannot lessen our abhorrence of war;

That repudiating all feeling of hatred, we reject all thought of reprisals.

We declare ourselves in complete agreement with him when he proclaims the duty of leaving to each people the right to dispose of themselves in their internal evolution, and his determination that the peoples of the conquered nations should not be crushed under foot.

In the great fight for peace about to be waged, we put our supreme hope in him that he may vanquish all imperialism, that he may suppress, by general disarmament, all menace to future wars, that he may spare our children the fatal error of revenge by bringing about, in spite of the efforts of the enemies of true peace, the triumph of his ideal, the sole expression of the world.

We implore him to be the arbitrator, who, impersonating the heartfelt will of all the people, shall bestow on a reconciled humanity a new charter founded on the mutual good-will and co-operation of all the nations of the world.

Paris, December, 1918.

REPLY TO APPEAL OF GERMAN WOMEN PUBLISHED BY THE FRENCH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Twice you have appealed to us in vain. Your actual words have not been given to the people of France, to the women who work and suffer; but without having heard them, we want to answer you, for the universal and identical sufferings of the war enable us to divine what you said.

We are sure you said to us, "The war is over, but the blockade still continues. The war is over, but our men, captives for so many years, remain in your hands. The war is over, but our little ones are hungry, our little ones are sick, they lack everything. We watch their sufferings, helpless."

We answer that we share your anguish, we suffer from the consciousness that we are still too feeble and too scattered to bring you effective help. We can only insist with you upon the sacred right of misery, whatever its country, to be equally respected and succored. Nevertheless, from the depths of our impotence, we should blush if we did not pray for your children to the Peacemaker who came to bring reconciliation among men. We are sending the following address to President Wilson:

"In the name of a group of French women who have tried, during the war, to preserve themselves from hatred, we come to join our voices to those of the women of the enemy countries who ask for help for their children. We know what our own have suffered in the invaded regions and it is precisely for that reason that we appeal to you for theirs. In these days of the armistice after the long martyrdom of mankind, evil must cease to reply to evil; it is time that people stopped torturing one another. We have faith in the greatness of your spirit. To all the captives of all the armies alike open the prison doors. To all the hungry of all countries distribute equally the bread of the world."

But you are as hungry for justice as for bread; women of the conquered nations, with you we demand a true peace, a peace without violence, a peace without reprisals, a peace, at last, of disarmament. After these accursed years, we desire reconciliation of spirit. We are wretched women who, like you, have borne the yoke of war during four years, who, like you, have not been able, have not dared to do anything to lessen its horror and monstrous cruelties. And even if all the crime should rest on your leaders alone, we know we could not impute it to you, for we know too well, in what depths of ignorance and of helplessness the war has shrouded us all.

Henceforth let the same remorse unite us. Never during the war have we let suffering set us against you. Never has the mourning of a German woman lightened our mourning. To-day, before peace is officially concluded between our countries, we want to affirm the fraternity that unites us.

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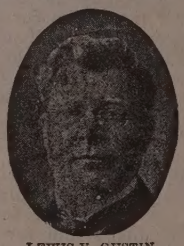

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